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*the Emerson
with respects of the Author
(to go in next Polk's
Manual - for 1868)*

LETTER

OF

WILLIAM E. CHANDLER TO GEORGE G. FOGG.

WASHINGTON, *June 15, 1868.*

GEORGE G. FOGG, Esq.,

Concord, N. H.,

SIR: I am not a little surprised at your persistent, false, and malignant attacks upon me and my friends in the *Concord Daily Monitor*. I did not wonder that your disappointment at not being able by duplicity and treachery to secure continued employment and office from President Johnson as his friend, and also at the same time to rule the Republican party of New Hampshire, had soured your temper and inflamed your anger against me as one supposed obstacle to your success; but I did not think that even your infatuation and bad temper would lead you into such a reckless disregard of truth and decency as that manifested in your recent newspaper calumnies. I can only account for your recklessness by supposing that you believe that the ownership of a newspaper, your responsibility and control of which you denied to Andrew Johnson when seeking office for yourself and friends, makes you invulnerable, and will prevent any adequate reply to your false charges and unjust assaults. In this belief you may be correct, for I certainly cannot reply to you as often and as publicly as you assail me, and can only in the form of this letter, addressed to you directly, remind you of facts which ought to make you ashamed of your own conduct if sensibility has not long since abandoned you. If your assaults are continued, I may possibly be obliged to rest in the belief that the personal malignity and hatred which evidently moves them will counteract and discredit all apparently injurious statements they may contain. The *Monitor*, through which you now

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assail me, was originally established in hostility to the Republican party, and also for the purpose of attacking and destroying me and my immediate political friends in New Hampshire. We have outlived its first attacks, and have been vindicated by results. We shall as certainly survive its new assaults and threatenings, and hope and believe the Republican party will be equally fortunate.

It is quite singular that your hatred of me, which so suddenly developed itself after the Republican State Convention, in Concord, of December 18, 1867, in newspaper articles attacking my personal and political integrity, should have been so studiously concealed by you for more than two years. Immediately upon your return from Switzerland, in 1865, you entered into relations with me which you evidently desired should be friendly and intimate. You continued to invite my assistance in securing for you employment and office from the Government, and in furthering your political projects in New Hampshire, without intimating to me or any friend of mine your hostility until the meeting of the Republican State Committee on December 17, 1867, when, possibly disappointed by your inability to control the proceedings of the Committee and the Convention, you made an ill-tempered and malignant personal attack upon me, which you have followed up in many ways to the present moment. While I recognize your right to oppose me politically, I do not admit, neither will any just man claim that you are entitled, after inviting my friendship and assistance for two years, to turn about and, from political disappointment, attempt by reckless assertions to injure my personal, professional, and political character. That for this length of time you concealed your sentiments, and only attack me from disappointed personal ambition, is a sufficient reason for disbelieving your slanderous and unsupported statements.

In reference to your charges against my personal integrity and political fidelity, I care to say but little beyond a simple denial of their truth, preferring to ask you whether my friends or the public will be likely to attach much credit to them in view of the motives which animate you and



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your own political trickery since your return from Switzerland. It is true that, having held office in the Treasury Department for two years and a half, I resigned mainly on account of increasing ill health, and am now temporarily, like many others, practicing my profession in Washington, while retaining my legal domicile in my native city and State. Never, while in office or since leaving it, have I been guilty of any dishonest action or dishonorable practice, nor have I ever received or aided in securing, directly or indirectly, one dollar wrongfully from the Government; and every statement made by you, which, if true, would in any way affect my character for integrity, is false. It is easy to assert dishonesty of any one; it is not always easy to prove it. Neither is it always possible for the party attacked to prove the negative. I must leave the issue which you have made to be decided by those who know the man that makes the charges, and his motives, and who know me, and have had opportunities of judging of my life and character.

That corruption, in its worst forms, has existed within and around the Departments of the Government during the present administration, is undoubtedly true; that dishonest officers have been unfaithful to their trusts is also true. But a newspaper editor, who therefore makes indiscriminate and unfounded charges against all men in office does more injury than good, for the tendency of such assaults is to discourage and drive out of service honest officers, leaving all the important and responsible positions to be filled by dishonest and unworthy men. If you believe it just to charge dishonesty upon every one who has had important trusts committed to him, and has therefore had opportunities for speculation, the same charge may with force and propriety, be made against you.

In April, 1866, while you were soliciting employment from President Johnson and Secretary McCulloch, you were retained as counsel for the Government, and, at a compensation of six thousand dollars for two months' service, employed at New Orleans in deciding what should be done with a large amount of cotton which had been seized as

Confederate property. It was hoped you had character and integrity; that you would be faithful to the Government, and endeavor to protect its interests and hold for it the cotton which rightfully belonged to it. The result of your employment was, that you surrendered to private claimants *nine thousand six hundred and sixty-five bales of cotton*, valued at about TWO MILLIONS OF DOLLARS, being every bale of cotton under seizure at the time you were employed, except twelve, and for those there appeared no claimant! I desire only to ask you in your own choice phrases whether you were faithful to your duty to the Government in relation to this cotton—whether you were connected with any “steal,” or “job,” or “corruption,” or “bribery” in connection therewith—whether under your management, the Government cotton at New Orleans became “a prey to thieves and robbers,” and whether or not you were at this time one of “McCulloch’s assistants and subordinates” that “thieved and helped others thieve in office as long as was safe or practicable?” Did you “plunder the Government” and “line your own pocket?” If not, a prudent man would advise you to be careful how you attack without reason the reputation of others who may by possibility have done their duty as faithfully and as honestly as you claim to have done yours.

The attempt made by you to induce the Republicans of New Hampshire to believe that I have ever wavered in my attachment to Republican principles would prove entirely unsuccessful even without an exposure of your own connection with President Johnson. In common with four-fifths of the Republican party, I felt anxious up to the time of the Philadelphia Convention, to prevent a final and complete rupture between the President and those that elected him to office. After that Convention I gave up the hope, and from that time to the present, have never, in Washington, nor I believe in New Hampshire, been honestly believed by any one to have the least political sympathy or affiliation with Andrew Johnson or his administration. That I have been faithful to the interests of the Republican party, the constant attacks of the copperhead *National Intelligencer* of this

city, most abundantly prove. Your specific statement that I procured the delegates to the Philadelphia Convention an audience with President Johnson, "promising to give him three Conservative members of Congress from New Hampshire," is false and base. This charge and all your other charges affecting my political integrity you do not believe yourself. You knew them to be false when you made them.

It is true that I have endeavored, while in office, to be courteous to every gentleman visiting the Treasury Department, and that I have preserved friendly personal relations with many members of the Administration who have always known the strength and earnestness of my devotion to the Republican party, and my determination to aid in preserving at all hazards its integrity and its ascendancy. I certainly cannot, like yourself, one day in Washington, solicit favors, employment, and office from Mr. Johnson, Mr. McCulloch, and Mr. Welles, and the next day in New Hampshire denounce them publicly as assassins and thieves.

There are sundry miscellaneous false statements in your repeated newspaper articles that are possibly worthy of notice, but I care only to allude to the statement that I aided "a crew of thieves" in breaking down John P. Hale on account of his denunciations of the mismanagement of the Navy Department. It cannot be friendship to Mr. Hale that leads you to make this charge. In common with two hundred and five other Republican members of the Legislature, I aided in nominating a Senator to succeed Mr. Hale. In the caucus Mr. Hale received only thirty-five votes on the first ballot; the balance were divided between Mr. Cragin, General Marston, and others, and Mr. Cragin was finally nominated. It was conceded by every one that the principal reason for Mr. Hale's defeat was the fact that, while a Senator in Congress, for a fee of three thousand dollars, he procured from the War Department the release of one Hunt from confinement at Fortress Monroe, where he was imprisoned for frauds upon the Government. With as much justice as is contained in your charges against me, you denounce all the members of the Legislature who aided in the election of Senator Cragin in the place of Mr. Hale

as a "crew of thieves." Was it, do you think, Mr. Hale's denunciations of the corruptions of the Navy Department, or his taking a fee from Hunt while a Senator, that ensured his defeat? What do you think of the propriety of Mr. Hale's taking this fee? Did you do such things while a three months' Senator in Congress? Did you urge and prosecute claims against the Government on account of guns manufactured for the War Department, and did you or not receive any compensation for so doing?

Perhaps I ought also, in view of your allusions to the offices I have held, to remind you that you have not been without office or the receipt of money from the Government except during those brief periods when it was unavoidable. In 1846 you were Secretary of State; subsequently you were secretary to the Kansas Investigating Committee, and held the office till you ran away from Kansas for fear of the border ruffians. In 1855, when the Republicans first carried New Hampshire, you became State Reporter; you were State Printer from time to time, and at last went Minister to Switzerland, where, by living meanly and in a manner discreditable to an American Minister, while drawing your salary of seven thousand five hundred dollars *in gold*, on the pretence that you were spending it for the expenses of your mission and to maintain the dignity of your position, converting two-thirds of it into greenbacks, thereby doubling it, and investing it in untaxable bonds now worth more than par, you amassed a fortune of FORTY OR FIFTY THOUSAND DOLLARS, while those at home were fighting the severest political and military contests the country ever knew; the soldier receiving for his valor and services *thirteen dollars a month in greenbacks*. Upon your return you immediately secured employment by the Government at large compensation, and by a "characteristic intrigue" succeeded in getting a temporary appointment as United States Senator. Are you not satisfied?—or is it because you cannot be immediately still further rewarded for assisting at the "birth and christening" of the Republican party—cannot longer, through "Andrew Johnson's kitchen," by bending the "suppliant hinges of the knee," get "up to the arm-

pits in Uncle Sam's strong box," nor "wade up to the eyes in public plunder," that you raise the hue and cry that "every honest member of the party is to be crushed out," and then proceed to pour your cowardly maledictions upon my devoted head?

Have you never stopped to reflect that you do not come with clean hands to make assaults upon my political and personal reputation with the intention of injuring my standing with the Republicans of New Hampshire? Since the Philadelphia Convention you have been the only New Hampshire Republican pretending to a regular standing in the party who *has been upon terms of intimacy with Andrew Johnson*. Immediately upon your return from Switzerland you solicited employment from the President and the Secretary of the Treasury as a special agent of the Treasury Department in Europe. You received employment from the Department as cotton-lawyer at New Orleans, receiving six thousand dollars for two months' time and opportunities, (from which sum you laid up more money than I have been able to save during my whole stay in Washington.)

You aided in procuring from Andrew Johnson the appointment of Hon. Daniel Clark as District Judge for New Hampshire, by representing, among other things, that Governor Smyth would appoint you to fill out Mr. Clark's term in the Senate, and *that you would go into the Senate opposed to impeachment, and as his, the President's, personal friend*.

The President being aware that the *Independent Democrat*, published by Fogg & Hadley, was, under the management of Mr. Hadley, attacking him for forsaking the Republican party, *you denied that you had any control over the paper, and disavowed its sentiments*.

During your brief but brilliant Senatorial career of three months, you continued on intimate personal relations with the President, visited and dined at the White House, and upon going out of the Senate, in March, 1867, you renewed your application to the President, the Secretary of the Treasury, and myself, for appointment as agent of the Treasury Department in Europe.

You continued your personal relations with the President

and his family even down to the vote of the Articles of Impeachment, so that your name was mentioned for various important offices within his gift; and as late as *January*, 1868, *within one month* before Articles of Impeachment were voted, you had a private interview with the President at the White House, and during that visit to Washington you SOLICITED AND PROCURED TO BE SOLICITED FOR YOU THE OFFICE OF ASSISTANT TREASURER OF THE UNITED STATES AT BOSTON.

And yet, in the face of all these facts, known to you, you have the courage—relying upon the control and ownership of a daily and weekly newspaper, to whose frequent assaults I cannot reply—to attack my political integrity, and denounce me as a Johnson man! Who has been “playing a triple role?” Who is the freshest from “Andrew Johnson’s kitchen?” Who has been “bending the suppliant hinges of the knee?”

It is almost impossible for those who knew you before you went to Switzerland, when you were a poor, although even then an overbearing and pretentious man, and have not learned how wealth and inordinate ambition have changed your character or developed bad qualities previously partly latent, readily to realize and to account for the persistent malignity with which you have pursued me since you found that I could not always be made subservient to the promotion of your already overgrown personal fortunes and political consequence.

You have used the privilege accorded you on account of your temporary Senatorial office, to go upon the floors of both Houses of Congress for the purpose of promoting the passage of a bill designed as a reflection upon and an injury to me. While doing this you have been bold and reckless in your false statements, and have not hesitated to use your own connection with cotton cases for the purpose of gaining credence for your assertions, when, with more reason upon the facts, the charges of dishonesty which you have so recklessly made might be turned against your own character and reputation.

Transferring again your hostility to New Hampshire, upon the first mention of my name as a delegate to Chicago, you

renewed your assaults upon me at home, and pursued me with them until after my election, and thence to the Chicago Convention, enlarging your assaults to attacks upon the State Convention and the whole New Hampshire delegation to Chicago.

Your political duplicity in connection with the Chicago nomination is therefore worth your recollection. You pretended to be favorable to the nomination of Senator Wilson as Vice President, and represented to him that you would endeavor to induce the withdrawal of Hannibal Hamlin, in order to unite New England upon Mr. Wilson. You went to Chicago, and finding the New Hampshire delegation uniting upon Mr. Wilson as their first choice, you labored in behalf of Mr. Hamlin, and thereby aided in destroying the chances of Mr. Wilson's nomination.

A fortnight before the Chicago Convention you came to Washington, and, when impeachment seemed likely to succeed, approached Senator Wade with offers of assistance, and engaged to secure the vote of the New Hampshire delegation for him as their second, if not their first, choice for Vice President, denouncing me and my friends as "Collax men."

At Chicago, impeachment having failed, and Mr. Wade being no longer likely to appoint you to a Cabinet office or a foreign mission, you denounced the old patriot and pioneer of Republicanism as the worst possible man to nominate, and have continued in your paper to assail him, and also to assail the delegation who, after a conference and compromise of all differences of opinion, agreed to vote first for Henry Wilson and then for Benjamin F. Wade, if for no other reason, to show that their friendship for him was not like yours, measured solely by his power of conferring office and patronage.

If, with this your personal and political record since you acquired wealth by easy office in Switzerland, while I was endeavoring, in my humble way, to keep in power the Republican party at home, you continue to vilify me behind the columns of a newspaper, I shall endeavor, with patience, to await the effect which your course will have upon the Republicans of New Hampshire, who always, in a most

gratifying manner, have sustained me and those who have acted with me politically, and who, I believe, will always sustain us when we are fighting either the open enemy or false and dangerous pretended friends. In the future, as well as in the past, I am willing that the earnest and true Republicans of Ward Five in the city of Concord, of the whole city, and of the State of New Hampshire, should judge between you and me.

Indeed I have less fears for myself than I have for the Republican party of New Hampshire. Your threats to destroy it unless it will disconnect itself from the lead of men whom it has hitherto trusted; your defence of the men who are now endeavoring to demoralize and destroy the Republican party of the nation; your personal conduct and the tone of your paper for the last three months, all indicate that you are preparing, if the time of danger and trial to the party comes, to go over to the enemy.

The Republican party is never to be defeated in an open fight with copperheads; it will only fail through the side attacks of a combination of ambitious, selfish and disappointed Republicans who, having received high honors from the party, are willing to destroy it unless they can be still further advanced. The whole hope of the Democracy now rests in securing the aid of such a combination. The conspiracy is already formed; the excuses to be used by the men who intend to go into it are already framed and foreshadowed, and if it seems likely that success can be achieved, the plot will go forward, and you will, secretly or openly join it. A man who will carry on intrigues with President Johnson while seeking favor of the Republicans of New Hampshire; who will deny his editorship of the paper on account of which he seeks such favor; who will defend the enemies of the party while pretending to support it; who will prove as false and passionate, as selfish, as mendacious and as treacherous as you have been since your return from Switzerland, is desperate enough for any action, however base, that seems likely to succeed. If the Republican party of New Hampshire and the country is saved, it will be in spite of, and not by the aid of, such conspirators.

WILLIAM E. CHANDLER.

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